

any conclusions about the last generation very inconclusive, but since the record for very young children is certainly defective, and since many families now existing will certainly increase in size, it is probable that any progressive decrease in the size of a family has now been arrested, and the details of the genealogical record would therefore agree with the Census Reports in showing the presence of a distinct tendency of the Toda population to increase. 161 162

None of the previous records have given any indication of the numbers of the two chief divisions of the Toda people. According to my genealogical records, there were living, in 1902, 528 Tartharol and 208 Teivaliol. The defects in my record are probably somewhat greater for the Teivaliol than for the Tartharol, but any difference there may be is certainly not great, and I think we may conclude that, though these figures are not accurate, they represent approximately the true proportion of the numbers of the two divisions. It is quite certain that the Tartharol are more than twice as numerous as the Teivaliol. Mr. Punnett's table does not show any great difference between the two divisions in the average size of the family, so that the proportion between the numbers of the two divisions has probably not altered during the period covered by the genealogical record. It is probable that the Teivaliol have always or for a very long time been the smaller division. 162

The Census Reports and the genealogical record then agree in pointing to a diminution of the Toda population about the middle of last century which has now ceased, the probability being that the Todas are increasing slightly in numbers. 161 177 164

There can be little doubt that any decrease in the Toda population about the middle of last century was the direct result of the changes brought about by the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiri Hills. The adverse influences which came into the lives of the Todas probably owe their origin to the large immigration of native servants and to the development of the bazaar. Though Europeans first began to come to the Nilgiri Hills about 1820, it was not till twenty or thirty years later that they arrived in any considerable numbers, so that it was probably the middle of the century

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before the injurious influences made their effects felt to any great effect.

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The especial influences injurious to fertility have probably been syphilis and sexual immorality, for the Todas do not appear to have fallen to any very great extent under the influence of alcohol or opium. They certainly take both, and especially after the market day at the Ootacamund bazaar, I have seen Todas obviously under the influence of drink; but I believe this to have been only an influence of minor importance on the health of the people. Syphilis, on the other hand, has undoubtedly affected them to a considerable extent. At the present time its ravages are not very obvious, though, without looking for it especially, I saw several examples of its effects. There can be little doubt, however, that it has been a potent factor in the past. In a note in a book by A. C. Burnell,<sup>1</sup> it is mentioned that in 1871 thirty-one Todas were treated at Ootacamund for venereal disease, and of these thirty were syphilitic. This means that in one year over 4 per cent. of the total Toda population were treated for syphilis at one place, and we may be fairly confident that all those suffering from the disease did not apply for treatment.

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Another factor working towards the diminution of the population has probably been sexual immorality. I shall have to return to this subject again later, and must be content here to point out that the Toda women have a very bad reputation, though perhaps their laxity is not as great as is usually supposed. Still, there can be little doubt that the women of some villages are extremely immoral, and it is probable that this has distinctly tended to produce sterility.

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If the diminution in the size of the Toda family is due to these adverse influences, it should be found to be greatest in those sections of the Toda community which have been most subject to these influences. The best way of throwing light on this question is to compare the fertility of the different clans of the Tartharol. Some of these, such as Nòdra, Pan, Taradr, and Kanòdra, either live in outlying parts of the hills or are sufficiently remote from the chief centres of the European population not to have been influenced very greatly.

<sup>1</sup> *Specimens of South Indian Dialects*, Mangalore, 1873.

of India, only one or two little sticks at a time. The correctness of this observation<sup>1</sup> is corroborated by the striking freedom of adults and children from eye-complaints.

CHAP.  
VI

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A. The pestle and mortar—Kudi.

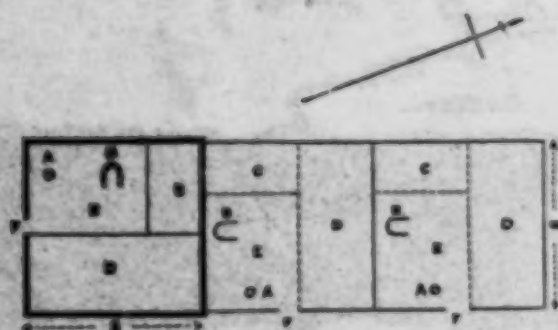
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B. The fire-place—Vorsh, or Vorshkall.

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C. The store or space, measuring  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ft. by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft., in which brass cups and plates, bamboo milk-pails—Honnu—are placed.

No. II.



THREE TORA HOUSE.

D. Raised bed of clay, measuring 8 ft. by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ft., for the elders.

E. Vacant space on the floor, 5 ft. by 3 ft., where the family eats, and where the juniors sleep.

F. The door.

Nearly every Mand, and in some instances each house, is surrounded, at the distance of three or four paces, by a low enclosure wall—Tšar<sup>1</sup>—built neatly but without cement. This wall, which in all cases bears the appearance of age, is so low (about 3 ft. high) as to preclude the possibility of its having

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<sup>1</sup> Tšar, Tšal, Tamil, Suvaz. In all the Dravidian dialects *r* and *l* are interchangeable. Thus Škri becomes Tšri. Ar and El are affixes which are used in the formation of nouns. [PORE.]

The precise number of Mands occupied at any one time, has not been ascertained, but the best authorities consider them to be not less than 40. Hence, by a short calculation, we find that the tribe consisted, in 1870, of not less than 407 males + 306 females, or 713 souls; of whom 258 were men in the prime of life.

CHAP.  
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Now, if the Report from which I have just quoted<sup>1</sup>, should be correct, it would appear that the tribe has more than doubled in about 23 years; and the opportunity, has been lost to me; of witnessing the process, and of ascertaining the causes, by means of which a race may die out. With every desire for the happiness of existing Todas, I still grieve to have been deprived of the interesting study.

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It is very much to be lamented that no vital statistics exist of the people: and that such as I have been able to collect, cannot be depended upon, absolutely; being merely approximate.

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1. Of the 196 people found noted in the Census Table<sup>2</sup> ascertained by personal inspection that there were only 2 cases of natural malformation; viz., in the village of Koana-koar, a young woman who was a cripple from birth: in Keshkir, a girl squinting with one eye.

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2. Only 3 people possessed defects that would either tend to shorten life or to evidence the probability of its soon drawing to a close; viz., in Ebgodu, a man nearly deaf and blind from old age: in the same village an infant with a skin disease: and in Kirzho, a middle-aged man in bad general health.

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Many were scored on the shoulder as a remedy for rheumatism. One woman was in quarantine after child-birth. And one woman was blind of an eye from a spark of fire having flown into it. It is said that contagious disease is not uncommon, but I am greatly disposed to doubt the statement, as applied to the present day. None came before me marked by smallpox. A case of leprosy was met with; but as the  
[See p. 109, category 116 -- Analyst]  
[See pp. 98 and 99, category 116 -- Analyst]

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CHAS.  
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man afflicted with that dreadful malady, was not amongst the 196 people of the census, the case cannot be used in these calculations.

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As regards the general appearance of the people; a large proportion of both sexes and of all ages are doubtless in excellent health. Up to the age of fourteen, the children are certainly, and almost universally, hale and hearty. The young women look well, too: but the young men are often bottle-nosed, with a general appearance of deficient circulation, insufficient food, and of athletic exercise. Nature seems to make competent arrangements, by means of which the female sex is able to bear children during the extra period that young men require for the purpose of completing their growth. It is probably a consequence or a portion of this design, that renders girls as a general rule more easy to rear than boys. Be that as it may, these rather weedy youths fill out in course of time, and complete their features with mature age—the large nose is rarely, or perhaps never, apparent in the young; and seems not to attain its climax till near the age of thirty—the women in advanced years are often draggled in appearance, from poverty and child-bearing. The full-grown men look strong and well.

Now for our examination into the augmentation of the numbers of the people.

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If we allow, that out of the 3 people recorded in paragraph (\*) to be in a state of health unfavourable to prolonged existence, 2 die in the course of the year. And suppose that another 2 die in the same period from other causes—a high rate for those who, living a pastoral and quiet life in a healthy climate, are exposed to few vicissitudes—we have then 4 deaths amongst 196 people, in the course of twelve months; or 2 per cent. per annum, as the extreme death-rate for *all ages*.

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In the years between 1838 and 1861, the average ratio of mortality in Great Britain—a country in which high civilisa-

## TODA

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 464 others who had been employed, not with conspicuous  
 success, on planters' estates. The Todas consider it  
 461 beneath their dignity to cultivate land. A former  
 [241] Collector of the Nilgiris granted them some acres of  
 land for the cultivation of potatoes, but they leased the  
 land to the Badagas, and the privilege was cancelled.  
 In connection with the Todas' objection to work, it is  
 recorded that when, on one occasion, a mistake about  
 the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda  
 to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work  
 with the convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort  
 to hard remedies, were compelled to save appearances  
 by making him an overseer. The daily life of a Toda  
 562 woman has been summed up as lounging about the mad  
 512 or mand (Toda settlement), buttering and curling her  
 hair, and cooking. The women have been described  
 [157] as free from the ungracious and menial-like timidity of  
 [77] the generality of the sex in the plains. When Europeans  
 (who are greeted as swāmi or god) come to a mand,  
 177 the women crawl out of their huts, and chant a monoto-  
 609 nous song, all the time clamouring for tips (inām). Even  
 [735] the children are so trained that they clamour for money  
 till it is forthcoming. As a rule, the Todas have no  
 objection to Europeans entering into their huts, but on  
 more than one occasion I have been politely asked to  
 take my boots off before crawling in on the stomach, so  
 as not to desecrate the dwelling-place. Writing in 1868,  
 114 Dr. J. Shortt makes a sweeping statement that "most  
 177 of the women have been debauched by Europeans, who,  
 164 it is sad to observe, have introduced diseases to which  
 these innocent tribes were once strangers, and which are  
 slowly but no less surely sapping their once hardy and  
 vigorous constitutions. The effects of intemperance and  
 disease (syphilis) combined are becoming more and more

apparent in the shaken and decrepit appearance which at the present day these tribes possess." Fact it undoubtedly is, and proved both by hospital and naked-eye evidence, that syphilis has been introduced among the Todas by contact with the outside world, and they attribute the stunted growth of some members of the rising generation, as compared with the splendid physique of the lusty veterans, to the results thereof. It is an oft-repeated statement that the women show an absence of any sense of decency in exposing their naked persons in the presence of strangers. In connection with the question of the morality of the Toda women, Dr. Rivers writes that "the low sexual morality of the Todas is not limited in its scope to the relations within the Toda community. Conflicting views are held by those who know the Nilgiri hills as to the relations of the Todas with the other inhabitants, and especially with the train of natives which the European immigration to the hills has brought in its wake. The general opinion on the hills is that, in this respect, the morality of the Todas is as low as it well could be, but it is a question whether this opinion is not too much based on the behaviour of the inhabitants of one or two villages [e.g., the one commonly known as School or Sylk's mand] near the European settlements, and I think it is probable that the larger part of the Todas remain more uncontaminated than is generally supposed."

I came across one Toda who, with several other members of the tribe, was selected on account of fine physique for exhibition at Barnum's show in Europe, America and Australia some years ago, and still retained a smattering of English, talking fondly of 'Shumbu' (the elephant Jumbo). For some time after his return to his hill abode, a tall white hat was the admiration of his fellow tribesmen.

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*Toda culture thirty-five years after*

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Irregular intercourse brings about frequent early miscarriage and perhaps absolute sterility. When we pass to the figures of the actual population, it is found that Rivers' guess that the Todas are increasing slightly in numbers is not borne out by the crude Census figures of 1911, 1921, and 1931. The figures are: in 1901 807, in 1911 676 (which is the corrected figure given by the Census officer after deducting double enumerations), in 1921 640, in 1931 597. It was suggested by the Census officer that the great apparent decline in 1901-11 is in reality due to double enumerations in 1901. The declines in the two succeeding decades are due in large part to epidemics, influenza in 1918-9 and relapsing fever in 1923-4. A subsidiary census in 1927, which yielded the figure of 582 and seems to have been carried out carefully, provides us with two figures which show that between the end of 1927 and the beginning of 1931, with no epidemic intervening, there was a slight increase in population, worked out by the Census officer as equivalent to an increase of about  $8\frac{3}{4}$  per cent for a decade. The lack of vital statistics throws us back on the crude population figures, which are highly unsatisfactory for results that will mean anything. The decade 1931-41 has so far been free from epidemics. If this happy state continues, it may be anticipated that the figures in 1941 will show an increase comparable with that between 1927 and 1931. But the high mortality of this tribe during epidemics, due in part to lack of immunity, but perhaps even more to crude, insanitary living conditions, is a constant danger to the continued existence and functioning of so small a community. The introduction of contagious disease to the community by the immigrant inhabitants of the hills is easily the point where outside influences have made the greatest impact on the Todas.

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<sup>1</sup> See Census of India, 1901, reference given in note 1.

in point, the only one I really came across. A man in his thirties, he was reputed to be a wanderer, travelling incessantly over the Nilgiri downs without any home at which to stay. He was not known to have any attachments at all, let alone feminine ones, and the explanation for this which I obtained from Kanvarsathi was illuminating. Pangur was supposed to have been excessively repressed in childhood, so that he had never got over the habit of masturbation. Again, I was struck by the very orthodox psychoanalytical nature of this interpretation coming from a people who have no notions of the modern development of psychology in the West. It was as if their lack of prudery in sexual matters coupled with a primitive commonsense were sufficient to make them understand these things much better than anyone in our societies would.

Both the Todas and the local Indian medical practitioners whom I interrogated on this question, said that they had never heard of or seen any case of insanity in the tribe. And this in spite of syphilis being (or having been until lately) rampant among them, although, it seems obvious, only in a mild form which does not bring about nervous disorders such as with us.

Suicide, on the other hand, was far from unknown, and numerous instances could be cited. Formerly, the recognized method of doing away with oneself was, as Rivers has recorded it (see *The Todas*, p. 555): hanging with a *kakhudri* (*Dregea volubilis*, Benth) creeper. This because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said to have killed himself in this way, after his master had been carried away by the goddess Terkosh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 201). Nowadays, however, opium has taken the place of this more antiquated method, a habit which, it is considered, has been adopted from the Badagas. Sriar's father, Izcheidi (20), thus committed suicide by taking the drug, because his wife had been carried away from him. because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said have ended her life by taking opium after the death of her son.

Concerning crime, Rivers says: "It is, however, doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the Todas," (*The Todas*, pp. 553-4). Certainly the tribe appears to be made up of remarkably meek and peaceful individuals, they having no arms at all, a rare occurrence among any human beings on earth. Nor is there any indication that they ever had any. From questioning I gathered that Todas often quarrel, shouting and even beating each other with the very attractive walking-sticks which it is their speciality to manufacture. But nothing

601 It was when Sotabuf was expecting her first baby that I was able to  
 123 see for myself the *urvatpimi* ceremony described by Rivers in his book  
 [843] (*The Todas*, p. 315 and fol.). This was on the 12th July, 1939, when the  
 child was expected to be born four months later. I never found out of  
 what sex it eventually turned out to be, and have thus had to leave this  
 unspecified in the above genealogy. In 1949, when I was in the Nilgiris  
 for the second time, Keel fell seriously ill with a bladder infection. I  
 took him to the local hospital, where the doctor and staff did what they  
 could to help, but to no avail. He died shortly afterwards, and his body  
 was cremated on the 1st September. Incidentally, it was at this funeral  
 [578] that Tödhen, mentioned above, was allegedly poisoned by Piliar (52)  
 [682] with the ensuing results which I have described earlier (see p. 266).

601 With a classificatory kinship system such as the Todas use, there is  
 614 not much distinction in the appellations used to designate the various  
 fathers that a man may have. The generic term for father is *In* or *Aia*,  
 the latter being employed more often as the form of address. These  
 names are used to describe not only one's own immediate fathers, but  
 also all those elders of the *modol* and of the *polkhliol* which are classi-  
 fied as such: males of the clan who are the same generation as the fa-  
 thers, and husbands of the sisters of the mother, including husbands of  
 all those who are of the same clan and same generation as the mother.  
 Elder fathers (that is, both real and classificatory) are known as *Peru-  
 daia*, while younger ones are called *Karudaia*. In the Melgarsh family,  
 of which I made a special study, while Pads was the *In* or *Aia* because  
 he had given the bow and arrow to Silidz, Karnoz, being the elder, was  
 [595] *Perudaia* and Purshwuö, the youngest, *Karudaia*. But these appellations  
 could just as well have been used to designate elder and younger classi-  
 ficatory fathers of the clan and mother-sib, and as such are unreliable to  
 distinguish between the different immediate fathers whom children of  
 polyandrous households may have.

595 With the Todas, a very conservative and patriarchal people, the rule  
 of primogeniture is strictly observed. Whereas among other polyan-  
 drous people, I found that dominance at home was more a question of  
 personality than of seniority among the fathers, with the Nilgiri tribe,  
 the eldest brother is always considered the head of the family, even if  
 a younger one has given the common wife the bow and arrow, and is  
 thus publicly recognized as the legal father of the offspring. There is  
 only one case in which he may relinquish his rights, and that is if he  
 has left with another woman and his share of buffaloes to put up a  
 separate household of his own. Thus Karnoz at Melgarsh, after he had